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ABSTRACT

As a part of the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education, this document contains the summary report and recommendations regarding education of Indian children and youth. The document summarizes results of field research made in 30 Indian communities and contains recommendations for action to improve the education of Indians. The recommendations and the text of the summary, as noted, are mainly the work of the director of the study, Professor Havighurst. An overriding theme throughout the study is that there needs to be recognition of Indian authority and responsibility for the education of Indian children and youth. It is believed that the time has come to make this a major goal in the policies and practices of the Federal Government and of the state governments. In conclusion, the document provides information on sample communities and school systems included in the study, a reference list, and the availability and purchasing arrangements for papers constituting the Final Report. (FL)

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THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Summary Report and Recommendations

Series IV. No. 6

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Robert J. Havighurst

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

December, 1970

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Copies of this report may be purchased for $1.00 (prepaid) from Training Center for Community Programs, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

P R E F A C E

This Summary Report and Recommendations is intended for the reader who wants a quick overview of the results of the National Study. It summarizes the results of the field research made in 30 Indian communities. It recommends action to improve the education of Indians.

Detailed reports of the research conducted in the Indian communities may be found in the official Final Report, which is being distributed by the Educational Research Information Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools at The New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico. There are approximately 45 papers in this Final Report series.

The Recommendations, and the text of the Summary, are mainly the work of the Director, Professor Havighurst, who consulted the Advisory Committee and the Research Staff frequently and systematically concerning the Recommendations, but did not ask for a vote from his colleagues on either body. It probably would have taken an inordinate amount of time to hammer out a text with specific recommendations to which all could agree fully. Consequently, after a final consultation on September 18 and 19, 1970, Professor Havighurst put this Report together. He believes that almost all of the staff and Advisory Committee are in general agreement with the Recommendations, though some would wish to have them modified to some extent.

The Advisory Committee has met three times--first to help plan the research, then to hear progress reports and to advise on the progress of the research, and finally to consider the findings of the research and to discuss the proposed Recommendations. Individual members of this Committee have advised the Director frequently, by mail and in person.

The Advisory Committee consists of Indian leaders who are also members of the National Indian Education Advisory Committee to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and of non-Indians who have an academic or broad social interest in Indian matters. They are:

Robert L. Chisholm, Superintendent, Albuquerque Public Schools
Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, The Field Foundation
Daniel Honahni, Education Coordinator, Hopi Tribal Council
Judge Mary Kohler, Director, National Commission on Resources for Youth
Ronnie Lupe, Chairman, White Mountain Apache Tribal Council
Domingo Montoya, Chairman, All Pueblo Council
James Officer, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona
Edward Spicer, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona
Sol Tax, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago
Ralph W. Tyler, Director Emeritus, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences
James Wilson, Indian Desk, Office of Economic Opportunity
John Woodenlegs, Chairman, Tribal Council of the Northern Cheyenne, 1955-68

SUMMARY REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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GOALS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The goals of American Indian education are generally agreed upon by all parties, when they are stated broadly. Essentially, the goals are to enlarge the area of choice of Indian people and to help them maintain their dignity.

The American Indian Chicago Conference, in 1961, said, "We conceive education not only in terms of classroom teaching, but a process which begins at birth and continues through a life span. Of all the studies, surveys, and research made of Indians, the inevitable conclusions and recommendations are that education is the key to salvation of whatever ills may be, wherever Indians reside."

It is generally agreed that Indian people should have increasing influence and responsibility for their education. President Nixon, in his July, 1970 message on Indian Affairs proposed that Indians be encouraged to set up their own school boards and take over control of their education. He said, "We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group. And we must make it clear that Indians can become independent of federal control without being cut off from federal concern and federal support."

Assuming greater control over their educational systems means more power to make decisions in the local Indian community, and also more Indians active in the administrative and the teaching staff of the schools attended by Indian children and youth.

The Statement of Purpose of the American Indian Chicago Conference read

> In order to give recognition to certain basic philosophies by which the Indian People live, We, the Indian People, must be

governed by principles in a democratic manner with a right to choose our way of life. Since our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society, we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our precious heritage. We believe that the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life.

These broad statements are being applied in various ways to the actual educational systems of Indian tribes and communities. Thus, the former Tribal Chairman of the Northern Cheyenne, Mr. John Woodenlegs, says:

> For over a year I have spent most of my time working on education, serving as a member of the National Indian Education Advisory Committee, as an education fieldworker for the Association on American Indian Affairs, as a member of one public school board, and an ex-officio member of an advisory school board.
>
> Our goals have been:
>
> 1. To educate our schools and the local communities to the idea of community schools, serving the needs of the local people over and above daily education of children.
> 2. To encourage parents to be more concerned and involved with the schools, including active membership on school boards.
> 3. To help teachers get more knowledge of the Cheyennes, their past history and culture and present life.
> 4. To encourage Cheyenne resource people to go into classrooms to talk on history and culture.
>
> We feel our children need education which gives the best of both cultures. We feel that many of the values of our past Cheyenne society can still serve us well in this modern world. We feel we need this to give us understanding and pride in our past, just as other Americans learn their history for the same reason.
>
> (Personal communication, January 21, 1970)

The goals of Indian education need to be interpreted in relation to the pervasive Indian need to live in two cultures. An Apache member of the school board of a public school district in the Apache reservation said, during a conference of Apache citizens:

> All of us have limitations when it comes to functioning effectively and efficiently in this world. I am aware of my limitations and I'm sure some of you are too. An imaginary line seems to extend across our path. The space all the way to the imaginary line represents the Indian lifeways; the space beyond the line represents that of the non-Indian society. It seems like some of us can only go as far as the line, for we have not learned the white ways of life. If we encourage our children to do their best and to be persistent in their endeavor to receive an education, I'm sure they will make the breakthrough--which is good. Because of education they should be able to function on the other side of the imaginary line. The way the white man operates, whenever a job opening occurs, all the people interested are given the chance to submit their applications. Or, they may express their interest personally or else have credentials that will speak for themselves. Our ultimate goal should be to educate our children so that their qualifications for any open position will be on equal par with, if not better than, the non-Indians. This is the goal we should strive for.
>
> (Whiteriver Education Conference, April 12, 1969)

The school program should be developed with curriculum, atmosphere, and behavior of teachers and students aimed primarily at maintaining respect for Indian culture and the dignity of Indian peoples while maximizing the capability of students to move comfortably between two social orders, the larger community and the Indian, through teaching skill and competence in the non-Indian culture and economy.

Positive Trends. In support of these goals, we find the following trends which are favorable and promising of improvement in the educational situation for Indian youth.

1. Toward a stronger Indian voice in the education of Indians. This is taking place on the local community level through:

    a. More Indians elected to school boards of public school districts.

    b. Increased activity of tribal education committees in relation to BIA schools and public schools.

c. Experimental contracts between BIA and Indian organizations for the operation of schools (e.g., Rough Rock).

d. Parent organizations in local communities.

2. Toward more Indian students graduating from high school and more entering college. There has been an enormous increase in these numbers since 1960.

3. Toward increased numbers of Indian teachers and school administrators. This trend will increase as more Indians go to college, and as the policy of appointing Indians to administrative posts takes effect.

4. Toward a fuller and more accurate portrayal of local and general Indian history. Many schools are developing this kind of teaching material and are adding high school courses in history with emphasis on the Indian story. Also, the quality of the textbooks is improving.

To assist these trends and to take full advantage of them is the task of educators today. The realistic optimism of this report should be tempered with a sober realization of the difficulty for Indian youth and their parents of living with competence in two cultures, and the complexity of the educators' task in making the school serve Indians more effectively.

DESCRIPTION OF PRESENT SITUATION

Mental Development and School Achievement of Indian Children and Youth

It is generally known that Indian children do not achieve as well on tests of school achievement as do the children of the white majority. There are many publications which have reported this fact, from as long as 40 years ago until today.

There is no reason to suppose that Indian children are basically or genetically less or more intelligent than other children in America. There is much general evidence that all large groups of human children (grouped by nationality, or by skin color, or by socioeconomic status) have the same intelligence and ability to learn, on the average.

Several studies of mental alertness and of basic mental development have been made with Indian children, and these studies show the Indian children to be about the same as white children of the surrounding society. For example, on the Good-enough Draw-a-Man Intelligence Test, which is a test of mental alertness and does not require language, Indian children show about the same level of achievement as white children. Actually, the 1,700 Indian children who took this test recently under the auspices of the National Study of American Indian Education made an average IQ of 101.5, which is slightly but definitely superior to the average of white children.[1]

On the Grace Arthur Performance Test of Intelligence (a battery of non-verbal tests), in a study made in 1942, a representative sample of Indian pupils from six tribes made an average IQ score of 100.2, slightly above the national average for whites.[2] As part of this study, a group of 30 Sioux pupils on the Pine Ridge Reservation made an average IQ score of 102.8, while exactly the same group, tested a year later with the Kuhlmann-Anderson, a verbal test requiring reading ability, made an average IQ score of 82.5.

Recently a study was made of 75 Oglala Sioux children aged 4-10 on the Pine Ridge Reservation. These children were given a standard set of test exercises developed by the Swiss psychologist, Piaget. The same tests had been given to a typical group of Swiss children in Geneva, Switzerland. These tests are used to measure the level of mental development, which Piaget believes is a universal process among human children. The Sioux and the Swiss children were practically

identical in their performance. Voyat, the researcher, concluded: "The inferiorities shown by IQ tests among Indian children are dependent upon the nature of the tests themselves, in particular their cultural content, since these inferiorities are not found when one analyzes the development of more fundamental concepts."[3]

It follows from these considerations that the lower average school achievement of Indian children must be due to some combination of their experience in their homes and in their schools. School achievement is well known to be related to a child's experience in his family, to his school experience, and to his inherited intellectual ability. Since the Indian children do not differ from other groups of children in their inherited intellectual ability as far as we know, group differences in school achievement must be due to the family or the school factors.

The Family and Local Community Factor. There is abundant evidence that the school achievement of children depends to a large extent on their experience in their family and their local community or neighborhood. From the point of view of school achievement, it is necessary to say that Indian children, on the average, are disadvantaged. It seems clear that many American Indian children are seriously handicapped for success in school due to the family and local community factors. They are disadvantaged because their parents are poor, often illiterate, and inexperienced in the ways of the modern urban-industrial culture. It should go without saying that many Indian children are also advantaged in other ways: their tribal cultures are rich and are in harmony with the natural universe; many Indian tribes have a satisfying religious and ceremonial life; family loyalty and family solidarity often give Indian children a sense of security.

But, when speaking of school achievement, socioeconomic facts could lead us to expect that Indian children, on the average, will do poorly in school right from the start, and right on through their childhood and adolescence.

The School Factor. Since World War II schooling has become available to nearly all Indian and Eskimo children. School attendance is increasing both in numbers and duration. The quality of school staff, plants, and supplies are, in general, comparable to schools attended by non-Indian children.

However, most schools and educators have expected Indian children to accommodate to styles of instruction and curriculum which were not designed with reference to the special requirements of many Indian youngsters. The

complexities of cross-cultural education, though increasingly recognized, are imperfectly understood by most practitioners and Indian communities have not ordinarily been involved in the planning of programs.

Future Expectations. In view of the information we now possess about the school achievement, the family socioeconomic circumstances of Indian children, and the schools, what may we expect in the future? We may expect one thing certainly, and a second conclusion contingently.

We may expect the school achievement of Indian children, on the average, to rise, as the socioeconomic status of Indian families is improved. As more Indian youth finish high school and go to college, they will improve their economic position and at the same time contribute more effectively to the success of their children in school. Furthermore, as more Indian parents become committed to education for their children, they will contribute more effectively to the success of their children to school.

The contingent expectation depends on the schools which Indian children attend. Will they do a better job of teaching Indian pupils, no matter what the children's family backgrounds are? They will do so only if the educational profession learns to teach Indian children more effectively and if the educational system supports such efforts.

Mental and Physical Health of Indian Children and Youth

The health of Indian children and youth should be considered in both physical and mental aspects as part of a study of their educational achievement and educational needs.

Physical health has improved substantially since 1950, but still lags behind that of the average group of Americans. Infant mortality is relatively high. A mild degree of malnutrition has been observed by nutrition experts among the children of several Indian groups. Ear infections and hearing impairments are unusually prevalent in Alaska.

However, the United States Public Health Service has increased its services very greatly on Indian Reservations during the past decade. The vast majority of reservation Indian children are now born in USPHS hospitals or health centers. Indian children in BIA schools get attention from USPHS physicians. It is likely that the health services enjoyed by Indians on reservations are superior to the services they can find in rural areas near reservations, or in the large cities to which so many young Indians are now moving. There is much room for improvement, but the physical health of Indians and of Alaskan natives is now better than it has been at any time during the present century.

The question of mental health of Indian boys and girls is much more complex and difficult to answer. We think of mental health as a state of personal and social adjustment which includes a favorable self-image and a clear view of the real world of persons and objects. Such a person can make good use of his abilities and can learn what is useful and important for him to learn.

We have no simple way of measuring mental health, except for the extremes of poor health--psychosis and neurosis. Psychiatrists in the Public Health Service say they have the impression that there are a higher proportion of Indian children with personal disturbance than they are accustomed to seeing in a typical white population, but there are no hard data to prove this.

Suicide Rates. There have been some wild statements about the suicide rate among Indians that are sometimes misinterpreted as indicators of poor mental health among Indian youth. It is sometimes said, even in non-medical government publications, that the Indian suicide rate is twice as high, or even higher, than that of the rest of the American population. This kind of statement is false. Actually, the

official report on Vital Statistics of the U.S. Public Health Service says that the suicide rate of the Indian population is about 12 per 100,000 persons per year, while that of the entire United States population is about 11 per 100,000.*

When the suicide rates are separated by sex, we find that the suicide rate for Indian women is slightly over half that for American women as a whole group. When viewed in relation to age, the Indian suicide rate for people over 45 is less than that for the rest of the American population, men and women, of this age group. Thus the one group in which the Indian suicide rate is higher than the national American average is young men aged 15-45. In this age group the Indian rate is approximately 3 to 4 times the national rate. This should be looked at in relation to the national suicide rate for men of the working class, since it has been found that the suicide rate for unskilled and semiskilled working-class men is about twice that of the remainder of males in this country. Since most Indian men would fall into this lower-class category, we see that an objective and balanced statement would be that Indian males, aged 15-45, commit suicide at a rate about thrice that of non-Indian males of the same age and occupational status.[4]

In a careful study of suicides of young Indian men in an Idaho community, it was found that suicides occurred mainly among men with problems of alcoholism, recent death of family members, and family disintegration.[5] Although suicide rate is a very poor indicator of the mental health status of a total population, this relatively high rate among young Indian males in certain tribal groups represents a problem which might be attacked, partially, by educational means.

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*The interpretation of suicide rate as an index of mental health of a society is seen to be questionable when one looks at the suicide rates for various countries, published by the World Health Organization. Countries with the highest suicide rates are: Denmark, Austria, and Japan. Among countries with very low suicide rates we find Egypt, Mexico, and Ireland. From what we know about mental health, it would not seem useful to claim that the first group of countries has poor mental health, and the second group has good mental health. Furthermore, since suicide rates vary between about 5 per 100,000 persons to 25 per 100,000, this relatively rare event would not seem to be a good index of the state of a nation's or a tribe's mental health.

Useful Indices of Mental Health of Indian Youth. There are some useful ways of estimating the mental health status of Indian youth, which depend on self-reports by the persons we are studying, and may be supported or denied through observations by people who have experience in studying young people and who have some training in the field of mental health. Through self-report inventories and questionnaires answered by 2,000 Indian youth in 30 different communities, we attempted to measure "self-esteem" as well as attitudes toward school, teachers, the Indian way of life, and the white man's way of life. We had comparable data for youth aged 10 to 20 in the general American population.

On our measures of self-esteem we find that the Indian youth score at about the same level as non-Indian youth of similar socioeconomic status.[6] There are some small but interesting differences among the various tribal groups that we studied, and the urban Indians fall slightly below the rural and reservation groups.

One useful comparison is possible, with a group of definitely maladjusted non-Indian boys in a midwestern city. This group scores substantially below the Indian youth and below a cross-section of non-Indian youth; thus indicating that the Indian youth are about average in self-esteem.

On our measures of attitudes toward school, teachers, the white man's way of life, and the Indian way of life, we find that Indian youth show very little evidence of severe alienation, by which we mean feelings that: one does not "belong" or "fit in" with the society around him; one is powerless to influence the future events in his life; one does not have standards for judging right and wrong, good or bad; and one feels that he is not doing what he really wants to do, in school, work, or community. Considering the fact that many Indians are poor, and lack educational and technical skills, it might be supposed they would show signs of alienation.

The striking fact is that, with a few exceptions, the groups of Indian youth we studied expressed rather favorable attitudes toward school, toward their teachers, toward the white man's way of life. They were slightly more favorable toward the "Indian way of life," which may be a sign of pride or at least satisfaction with being Indian.[7]

On one of our instruments, the Indian boys and girls were asked to rate "my future" on a scale ranging from positive or optimistic to negative or pessimistic. Their average ratings were very positive or optimistic.

Conclusions. Our conclusion is that the great majority of Indian young people in the communities we studied are fairly well adjusted persons. They think well of themselves, and they have about the same attitudes toward school and toward their teachers that non-Indian students in the same kinds of communities have. They do not do as well in achievement tests in the school subjects as do the average white students, but this is due more to the socioeconomic position of their families than to some possible personality disturbance.

How Indian Education is Perceived

The great majority of the funds for this research, and the bulk of the time of researchers and of analysts of research data, have gone into interviews--lengthy, open-ended interviews with hundreds of people. There were four categories of people interviewed: 735 parents, 2,422 students, 468 teachers, and 190 community leaders.

It was considered desirable and useful to ask these people how they saw the school, how they thought it was doing--its strong and weak points. They would be asked to speak as fully and as honestly as possible about the school, the teachers and the Director. They would be asked to tell what they expected of the school, and how they thought the school could do better.

Parents were interviewed generally by local men and women who were paid to do this work, and were trained through sample interviews by the Field Directors. The interviewers spoke the language easiest for the parents to understand. As far as the Field Directors could tell, the interviewers were seen as ordinary fellow-citizens by the parents. An effort was made to avoid employing people who had controversial or questionable records. The interviewers were instructed to record the words of the respondent, and to avoid interpreting these words, as far as possible.

The persons to be interviewed were selected by a method of random choice, and a fairly good cross-sectional sample was thus interviewed.

Students and teachers were generally interviewed by the research staff from the seven universities which conducted field work. They were chosen by lot, except for teachers in small schools, where all teachers were interviewed, or all but one or two. Community leaders, or "influential people," were interviewed by staff members, or occasionally by the same interviewers who worked with parents. There was not much attempt at "sampling" of influential people, but generally the five or ten leading local citizens were seen, some of them Indians and some non-Indian.

Sometimes, in studying a situation through interviews, an inaccurate picture is obtained because some controversy has occurred recently which attracts attention away from things as they usually are. There had not been any militancy or protesting political activity among local Indians in our sample, except in the

case of Minneapolis. However, in at least six of the communities we studied there had been events centered around the school during the past two years which created mild controversy, and were mentioned in some of the interviews. This proportion of six out of thirty probably was typical of the state of affairs among Indian communities in 1968-69.

The interviews were typed out and subjected to analysis with rating scales. Thus it was possible to get numerical data from the interviews, and to compare groups from various communities, or to compare the parents, teachers, influential persons and students in one community.

It is fair to ask how valid the interviews and the ratings are, as expressions of the true feelings of the persons who responded to the interviews. We have answered this question in several technical papers which are part of the Final Scientific Report on the Study. We believe the interview ratings are more accurate expressions of true feelings than any other method now known. Certainly they are better than check-list questionnaires where the respondent checks "yes" or "no" to some questions and statements, without a chance to qualify his answers or to ask for the meaning of a question which he does not quite understand.

Comparison of the interview data from one school with that from another requires a rating procedure which is strictly comparable, and this depends on the skill and experience of the people who read the interviews and rated them. We have described in a technical paper how we worked on this problem, and we believe we succeeded fairly well.[8]

However, there is no doubt that many of the parents and students whom we interviewed had very little knowledge about schools, beyond their immediate experience. They did not have much basis for comparing their school with others. They were speaking of education as it concerned them personally, and this was important to them. But they did not have much knowledge about education in general. Their judgments might be different from the judgments of experts in the field of education. What they liked and disliked about the schools might be different from what other groups of people would like or dislike.

Furthermore, the interviews, being phrased in general terms that could apply to a variety of school systems, did not bring out the specific likes and dislikes of the respondent unless he was so much interested and involved

in the school situation that he volunteered some detailed information. This was a weakness of our method.

By interviewing community leaders, we obtained information from a group of people who had a wider knowledge of education and of the Indian community than most of the parents and students. By interviewing teachers we obtained information from people who occupied a different role in the educational system than the parents or students.

By putting the information together from these various groups of persons, we believe we have succeeded in getting a faithful report on the attitudes of the people who are most concerned with the education of Indian children and youth.

The perceptions which we have to report are generally undramatic, and probably no different from the perceptions that parents and students in rural white communities have of their schools. In other words, most Indian parents and students accept their schools as adequate. The majority have some criticisms or suggestions, but only ten to twenty percent of our respondents indicated general and serious dissatisfaction with the schools.

This finding may surprise some people who have heard some vigorous and even violent criticisms of the education of Indian children and youth. It has been claimed that many or even most teachers who teach Indian children are prejudiced against them, are sure they cannot learn much, etc. This is an exaggeration. Most teachers see their Indian students as having special problems in school due to their socioeconomic and cultural circumstances, but few feel that these students "cannot learn" and most appear to like their Indian pupils.

Some people have heard that Indian Boarding Schools are bad places for children, or that schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs are inhuman places. This is not the way most students and parents of students in such schools perceive the situation.

In the paragraphs and pages which follow, we will report first the general perceptions or attitudes toward the schools as expressed by the people whom we interviewed and queried, then the more extremely favorable or unfavorable perceptions, then the differences between types of schools.

Parents. When asked, "How well does the school meet the needs of your child?" 53 percent of the parents gave mildly favorable comments, 29 percent were definitely favorable, and 18 percent were unfavorable. The question was asked several times in different ways during the interview, and the parents' comments were put together to reach a judgment on how favorable or unfavorable the parent was. Half of the parents said something like: The school is doing a fairly good job with my child, but there is definitely room for improvement. The attitude of many parents could be summed up as "If my child is doing OK in school (getting passing grades), the school is OK." Twenty-nine percent of the parents were decidedly more favorable than this, and 18 percent said that the school was doing poorly for their children.

A separate rating was made of the parents' opinion of the school program and curriculum. Fifty-two percent of the parents were mildly favorable, though they also had something to criticize. Definitely more favorable were 34 percent, and definitely unfavorable were 14 percent of the parents. Most of the parents favored more study of Indian culture and history in the school program.

When asked their opinion of the teacher's performance (e.g., "How well is the teacher doing?") 38 percent of the parents were slightly positive, and 49 percent were definitely favorable, with such comments as: "She's good." "A good teacher is stern, but she has a way about her that kids like. They don't think she is being mean. She does special things for them." "He's doing fine." Thirteen percent of the parents were definitely negative about the teacher. For example, "Our children say their teachers don't teach enough." "I think she is all right, but she neglects G, because he does not know how to get along with adults."

While this range of attitudes toward the school and the teacher was fairly common over all the schools, the parents of some communities were definitely more favorable than the parents in certain other communities. In general, the less favorable parents had children in school where the majority were non-Indians, and they were likely to have children in high school.

It was clear from the interviews that the majority of parents were not very much involved with their schools. They visited the school only on special occasions or when they were asked to come by the teacher or principal. However, there were always a few parents who were definitely interested and knowledgeable about

the school. They could become a nucleus for parent organizations or advisory committees. In several communities there had been recent problems or controversies in which some of the parents became quite active.

Students. When asked, "What do you think about your school? How does it compare with other schools you know?", the students from the fifth grade on through high school were generally neutral or favorable. Twenty-nine percent responded that their school was "about average" or "perhaps slightly better" than other schools. At the favorable end of the scale were 49 percent of the students, who said, "I think it's pretty good." "It's better than other schools I've been to." "This school is better than the one in New Mexico. They teach you more here. It's harder here, too." This leaves 22 percent who were unfavorable to the school, saying such things as: "I don't like this school. All the others I know are better." "It's on and off--better and worse. The attitude of kids towards Indians is bad." Most students had some complaints about something or other, such as: a certain course, a particular teacher, rules about behavior, the attitudes or actions of other students, and overly strict or overly permissive discipline. Most of these students, however, felt that their schools were about as good or a little better than other schools they knew of.

When asked, "How well does your teacher do his job?", the students gave rather favorable answers. Forty-one percent were slightly positive, saying such things as "Most of them are all right." "One leaves the room too often; but the rest are all right." Definitely more favorable are 44 percent, with such comments as "most of them are pretty good." At the negative end of the scale are 15 percent, most of whom say something negative about a teacher, often saying that "She is OK, but . . . "

The most negative comments about schools and teachers come from the more acculturated junior and senior high school students in schools with a mixed Indian and non-Indian population. The most positive evaluations come from some of the more isolated, all-Indian schools, and from one boarding school.

Local Community Leaders. Local community leaders are somewhat more critical of the schools than the average parent is. This is probably due to their broader perspective on the local community and on the relation of local Indian life to life outside. Forty-five percent of the respondents were more negative than positive in their over-all evaluation of the school program for Indian students. This evaluation was a summation of attitudes about the curriculum, staff, administration, and general atmosphere of the school. Thirty-two percent were slightly positive, and 23 percent were definitely positive.

Principal problems of the school, as perceived by the local community leaders, were: parental apathy, lack of motivation by pupils, irregular attendance by pupils, poor home life, and lack of clarity and decision concerning the educational goals of the school. There was also some mention of negative attitudes of teachers and administrators toward Indian students, but this was not seen as a predominant problem.

Local community leaders, even more than parents, want to see the Indian influence made stronger with respect to education. But they are not clear how this should be done. Few of them are militant in the sense that many local leaders among blacks and Spanish-Americans are. On the whole, the parents and local community leaders are a mildly conservative group, wanting orderly progress.

There is a widespread desire for more attention in the school curriculum to a positive presentation of Indian history and culture. This varies among communities in relation to the solidarity and cohesiveness of the local tribe--some people want their children taught the history and culture of the local tribe, while others want a more general treatment of Indian history and culture.

Teachers. The great majority of the teachers who were studied (434 out of 634) were teaching in rural or small town public schools in which Indian pupils predominate. Hence it is their perceptions of Indian education which predominate in these paragraphs. Teachers were asked to respond anonymously to a question about their attitude toward their present job. Their average rating was between "favorable" and "very favorable." This was definitely more favorable than the rating given in 1964 by Chicago public school teachers of their jobs when answering the same question.

Teachers were asked to rate their own schools with respect to the "climate

and structure" of the school. That is, to what extent was the school operating on a rigid, authoritarian program dominated by the principal. Their answers, which were not seen by the principal, indicated that they saw the schools as having slightly more than average flexibility, in which routine duties were not allowed to interfere with good teaching, and the teachers had a good deal of autonomy in the planning and organizing of their work.

Teachers have a rather limited contact outside of the classroom with the lives of their pupils. More than half of those who teach in rural areas live in teacher compounds more or less separated from the surrounding community. Based on the interviews, the majority of the teachers were rated as having "some" or "rather limited" knowledge of the local Indian community and its lifeways. Many of them have participated in out-of-school activities with their students but mainly as observers (of athletic contests, exhibits of Indian art, etc.) rather than as active group members. The average teacher has met between 20 and 30 percent of the parents of his students, generally when the visit was requested by the teacher or on the occasion of a "parents' night" at the school. In general, then, their experience and contact with the local Indian community can best be described as limited.

Based on the interviews, a rating was given for a teacher's degree of understanding of and sympathy with the students and parents. In general, the teachers were rated at the mid-point of a 5-point rating scale, which indicates that they have sympathy and understanding for specific problems and aspects of their students' lives, but their comprehension of the total situation of the Indian community is restricted. Their perception of the Indian student in general is open-minded, with an effort made to understand. Most of them like their Indian students, and many of them say they prefer to teach Indian children over other teaching situations.

EVALUATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

In assessing the present situation, it is useful to view the education of Indian children and youth as occurring in three quite different situations.

1. Indians are the complete or majority population in geographically isolated areas, living in communities that have relatively little contact with the urban-industrial society. This is true, for example, of most Navajo, most Eskimo (who are included in our study though they are not Indians), most Papago, most Tlingit, and even some Oklahoma Indians such as the Cherokee in the northeastern corner of the state.

2. Indians are the majority population in small reservations or local Indian communities, surrounded and in fairly close contact with the non-Indian society. Here the vast majority of Indian adults and children speak English with some fluency, take part in a cash economy, and move back and forth between the Indian and the neighboring communities. Examples in our study are: Quinault, Makah, Blackfeet, Hoopa, Menominee, Lumbee, Rosebud Sioux, Pima, Apache, Hopi, Laguna. The younger children are likely to attend all-Indian schools, and to change to integrated secondary schools which serve a wider area including many non-Indians.

3. Indians are a minority dominated by the urban society. This situation includes the Indians in cities of 50,000 or more, such as Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, together with a few small Indian communities on the fringes of reservations, such as the Prairie Island Sioux at Red Wing, Minnesota; the Blackfeet at Cut Bank, Montana; the Pawnee and Ponca groups in Oklahoma.

Universal schooling for Indian and Eskimo youth is relatively recent. Only since World War II has schooling become available to all. Expansion of educational facilities is continuing. Today, a principal problem of Indian education is the relatively low academic achievement of Indian pupils. A related problem is the dropout rate before completion of high school, although this is decreasing.

The factors which depress school achievement are complex. School achievement of every child depends on the combination of influences in the school, the family, and the local community. When one of these falls short, the other two are seldom able to make up for it.

Sources of Problems of Indian Education

The factors in the present situation which influence the attitudes, the behavior, and the achievement of Indian pupils in school are:

1. The Indian Tribal Culture, as it is taught to the child by his family and his tribe. This includes language, values, life-style, ways of cooperating or competing with others, attitudes toward male and female teachers, the definitions of rewards and of punishments, etc. It is probable that the ways of teaching employed by teachers are not always effective with certain Indian groups, and could be very much improved on the basis of careful study of this factor.

2. Poverty. The low income of many Indian families prevents them from feeding their children adequately, and also from buying school supplies and clothing. There is some evidence that malnutrition in the early years of infancy reduces the ability of a child to learn. However, the evidence is not clear on this matter, and it is doubtful that malnutrition is a major factor in the learning difficulties of Indian children.

Extreme poverty may have a serious effect on a minority of Indian children as it apparently does on a minority of poor families everywhere. Uncertainty of income, uncertain employment, lack of contact with the institutions of the larger society, and disorganized family life, all of which are more prevalent among poor families than among other families, produce a life-style which severely handicaps the children of such a family for orderly school attendance and school achievement. These conditions are to be found among some of the poorest Indian families, both on the reservations and in the urban setting.

3. The local community. Most Indian communities are isolated geographically, do not provide access to money-producing jobs, or to such educational institutions as libraries, and do not offer to the Indian youth many models of success through education. This affects adolescents, particularly. With few jobs available that are related to schooling, and little contact with Indian young people who have profited from education, the adolescent peer culture is likely to favor activities which produce excitement, pleasure, or escape from boredom, and these activities seldom have much intellectual content. However, the youth who grows up in a traditional Indian community, with respect for the traditional religious and ceremonial life, is likely to be well-adjusted to tribal life, but he may need very special help from his elders or from teachers to combine this kind of favorable adjustment with the skills and attitudes that make for economic success outside the local community.

4. Teachers and schools not geared to Indian ways. Although most teachers and school principals are well-disposed toward Indian students and parents, they often make mistakes in their teaching due to ignorance of the

local Indian culture. Limited contact between school staffs and Indian communities, and the persistence of prejudice and negative stereotypes among some school personnel require attention. Teaching methods and the content of the school curriculum can be made more effective than they now are, if we make use of our present knowledge and experience.

5. Public schools vs. federal BIA schools. At present, with two-thirds of Indian students in public schools, it is clear that the public schools will bear the weight of Indian education from now on, although there is no likelihood that BIA schools will decrease in enrollment in the foreseeable future. Examining and comparing the day schools operated by the two systems, we do not see major differences in the quality of the education provided. There are possible advantages on each side, and these can be more nearly realized. There has been a good deal of criticism of the federal government's Indian Boarding Schools. But there does not seem to be any practicable alternative to boarding schools for the minority of Indian children who live too far away from day schools to get to them by school bus. Federal Boarding Schools will be operated for a long time to come. They serve a varied pupil population including those for whom other schooling is unavailable or less desirable, children of migrant families or from broken homes, and pupils with backgrounds of difficulty in other schools. The boarding schools can be substantially improved, particularly as regards meeting the special needs of their varied populations, and improvements are now being made.[9]

6. Growth of urban Indian population. Since 1950 there has been a substantial migration of Indian families to urban centers, especially in the West, Southwest, and North Central areas. Like other urban migrants, many

Indians who come to the city leave their home communities because of limited employment opportunities. And like many other recent migrants, especially those of minority racial and ethnic backgrounds, Indians find urban communities to be alien environments. The cultural background of Indians with their strong emphases on close personal interrelationships and strong traditional family and tribal values do not prepare them for the depersonalized and sometimes hostile encounters with other urban residents. Their educational and vocational skills are for the most part inadequate or inappropriate for the available job opportunities. When they seek those few jobs for which they are prepared, they often face bigotry and discrimination. However, with increasing numbers of Indians already in the city and the improved job training and housing and with personal advisory service being provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and private agencies, many Indians are making an easier adjustment.

The Meriam Report observed that small numbers of Indians were living in cities in 1926, most of them close to reservations (Winslow, Gallup, Needles, Phoenix, Albuquerque, Santa Fe) and only a few in the large cities some distance from reservations, such as Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Milwaukee. It was estimated that less than 5,000 Indians lived in urban communities some distance from reservations. In the 1960 U. S. Census of Population, about 160,000, or over 30 percent of all Indians, were reported to be living in urban areas.

In 1968, a BIA report estimated that about 180,000 Indians were living in 41 cities, all of which contained at least 1,000 Indian people. The urban Indian population for 1970 has not yet been officially announced by the Census Bureau, but is estimated at approximately 280,000 or 38 percent of all Indians.

Canadian Indians and Eskimos have migrated to the cities for much the same reasons. A recent interview study in Toronto found the three most frequent reasons given by Indians to be employment, education, and "excitement." Census data for 1951 and 1961 in Canada showed the Indian population of Toronto increasing ten-fold; Winnipeg, five-fold; and Montreal, two-fold during this ten-year period.

The largest urban Indian population in the United States is in the Los Angeles area, where about 35,000 Indians are living and about 1,500 children and youth are in school. Next largest is probably Minneapolis, with approximately 12,000 Indians and 1,700 Indian school pupils. There are some 18,000 Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area, and more than 10,000 in each of: Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Phoenix, and Chicago.

In nearly all of these cities a large proportion of the urban population consists of young men and women who were sent at BIA expense to be trained for an occupation and then were assisted to find work in that or another city. These young people do not yet have many school-age children. In most cities, the ratio of children to adults is quite small. But in another 10 years the Indian school-age population in the cities will be several times as large as it is today.

What Kind of Education Do Indians Want?

Since we recommend that Indian people exert more power and assert more influence over the education of their children and youth, it is important to raise the question whether there is a single position taken by Indians on major educational problems and issues. Does the Indian voice speak clearly on these matters?

The answer is clearly in the negative, when we get past such general questions as: Should Indians have more influence over the education of their children? Most Indian parents and many local leaders, although desiring education for their youth, have not thought much about the details of education of their youth, as is true of most parents and local leaders in all American communities. Also, since Indians have not generally had an opportunity to exert influence through local school boards and advisory committees, as a group they are less experienced in discussing and deciding on educational issues than are non-Indians. Therefore we should expect that there will be some uncertainty in the Indian voice on educational matters.

However, the past ten years have seen a considerable increase in the power of Indians over education in their local communities, especially on the reservations and in the villages adjacent to reservations. Momentum is increasing, and there should be no difficulty in maintaining a steady increase in the strength and clarity of the Indian voice on educational matters in the communities that are predominantly Indian.

As time goes on, certain basic educational issues will become more controversial among Indians. For example, there will be disagreement on the question of maintaining small local all-Indian schools on the one hand, or consolidating these with non-Indian school systems to create larger, integrated schools. There may also be controversy over the way English is taught in communities where the home language is Indian. In this case, it is to be hoped that research will show what method or methods work best, so that Indian communities can make more knowledgeable decisions.

In general, we must predict that Indian leaders will be more and more involved in the problem of transcultural education and styles of life. This is a complex problem that can never be met by a simple unchanging solution.

Quality of Teachers and Administrators

We interviewed a sample of over 400 teachers and secured questionnaires from 634, who taught in 55 schools in 30 communities. We found this group to be about average in their college preparation for teaching. As a group, they had definitely favorable attitudes toward their job. When asked how they felt about teaching Indian children, 64 percent said they liked Indian students and enjoyed teaching them. Another 33 percent were neutral, feeling that they would just as soon teach Indian children as other children. Finally, 3 percent were negative, saying they would prefer to teach non-Indians.

Approximately 11 percent of the teachers in our sample were Indian. We expect that this proportion will increase, as more Indian students graduate from college.

As a group, the teachers in our sample had definitely favorable attitudes toward Indian children and their families. Sixty-three percent marked as "false" the statement: "No matter what we do in school, the culture of Indian children impedes their learning." With respect to the statement: "Teachers of Indian children do not really know how to communicate with their pupils," 54 percent disagreed, 16 percent were uncertain, and 30 percent agreed. Thus there is some recognition of the complexity of the task. A problem appears in their responses to the statement: "In the classroom Indian children are shy and lack confidence." Fifty-two percent of non-Indian teachers agreed, and 20 percent disagreed. But Indian teachers saw this differently, 21 percent agreeing and 54 percent disagreeing. The vast majority agreed to the statement: "There should be courses in the curriculum which teach the local Indian history and culture."

As everyone knows, there is a difference between what we say we believe and our actual behavior, and it may be that the teachers of Indian children are more "enlightened" in their verbal attitudes than in their actual classroom and community behavior. However, the questionnaires were confidential, and were not seen by local school administrators or by local people.

The administrators of schools with Indian pupils appear to be an average group of men and women educators, pretty much like the school principals in the small cities and rural areas of the country. The principals of BIA schools have had a good deal of experience with Indian students, of course, and the principals of public schools have generally had very little experience with Indians.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Indian Influence on Education

Throughout the recommendations which follow will be seen the theme of Indian authority and responsibility for the education of Indian children and youth. The time has come to make this a major goal in the policies and practices of the federal government, and of the state governments. Indian parents and leaders of Indian communities want this for their own communities and their own tribes. Our research shows that they generally desire authority, power, and participation in decision-making.

This cannot be a rapid process. Most Indians are caught in the predicament of rural poverty with lack of modern economic skills, on the one hand, or in the urban poverty predicament on the other hand. However, modern technology, particularly transportation and communication, has reduced their geographic isolation, and given them more acquaintance with schools and other institutions of the surrounding society.

Indian people are gaining experience with education and are becoming able to use it and to direct it toward their own goals. How far and how fast they go should be decided by them.

Federal Government Relationships and Responsibility

The legal responsibility of the federal government for the education of Indians is now being met in three broadly different ways:

1. Through the Department of the Interior for:
   a. Operation of Boarding Schools, Day Schools, and Bordertown Dormitories.
   b. Payments under the Johnson O'Malley Act to school districts for assistance to Indian pupils.
   c. Vocational Training of Adults, and College Scholarship Funds.

2. Through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which makes payments to the states to aid education of Indian students in public schools by:
   a. Providing funds in lieu of a property tax on lands which are not taxable but on which Indian families live (P.L. 815 and 874).
   b. Providing funds for local district use (under P.L. 89.10) to improve the education of children from families with low incomes.

3. Through the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor for:
   a. Head Start programs.
   b. Community Action Projects.
   c. Training and Job Placement of Adults

These are activities and amounts of money which are essential to the welfare and the education of Indian children and youth. They have been administered in the past by white people with a minimum of Indian participation, though the Indian voice has grown stronger on these matters in the recent past.

From now on the decision-making about Indian education and the execution of these decisions should be increasingly in the hands of Indians. It appears to us that the basic problem of Indian education cannot be solved unless definite steps are immediately taken in this direction.

In order to move rapidly toward greater authority and responsibility by Indians for the education of their children, there might well be new legislation that sets up an Indian Education Commission composed entirely or mainly by Indians, with substantial power and money. However, since it generally requires a long time to pass such basic legislation, it is desirable to take action under existing legislation. There are two Indian Education Advisory Committees or Commissions already in existence or provided for. These are made up entirely of Indians.

A. The National Indian Education Advisory Committee to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This Committee has been operating since 1967. It has assumed more and more responsibility as it has grown in knowledge, skill, and experience in operating as a group. It could usefully take more responsibility for assistance in policy-making and administration of BIA programs.

B. The Sub-Committee on Indian Education of the National Council on Indian Opportunity. The responsibilities of this Committee remain to be worked out. It might become a principal advisor to the Commissioner of Education of the U.S. Office of Education, if he should request this service. Alternatively, the Commissioner of Education might set up his own Advisory Committee on Indian Education.

Both Committees should have adequate staff and should have money to employ services by contract. These committees could work closely with each other and with existing agencies and advisory committees which have interests that border on Indian education. For example, these committees could be assisted by the National Advisory Committee on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, which advises the President on the administration of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (P.L. 89.10).

The Committee advisory to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would be especially concerned with the growing need by city school systems of assistance in the education of Indian children living in cities over 50,000.

Both committees should give special attention to helping the various state departments of education to administer funds entrusted to them for education of Indian children and youth.

Both committees could help the BIA and the U.S. Office of Education to deal more efficiently with local school districts and local communities which have a major concern with Indian education.

A Privately Financed Commission on Indian Education

In addition to the official government Advisory Committees or Commissions that have been recommended, it appears important to create and maintain with non-governmental funds a National Commission on Indian Education.

Such a Commission could:

1. Maintain a continuous evaluative survey of the quality of education for Indians.

2. Make special studies of certain aspects of Indian education, such as several that have been pointed out in this Report.

3. Recommend policies for government and private-operated education of Indians.

4. Develop a field staff of Indians who will work with local Indian communities to help them use their growing autonomy effectively, through self-studies and through school boards and school advisory councils.

The major effect of such a Commission would come from its continual determined and rational pressure on public and private organizations to improve the quality of education for Indians.

The Commission should be composed of Indians, or at least a majority of its members should be indians. They should be men and women characteristic of the variety of Indian interests and points of view.

The Commission should be guaranteed at least a five-year life and should have funds for a competent staff.

There is ample precedent for this kind of Commission, supported by one or more of the Foundations. For example, there has been the American Youth Commission, supported by the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation; the Commission on Higher Education supported by the Carnegie Corporation; and the Commission on Teacher Education, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Curriculum

With occasional, notable exceptions, curriculum for Indian children in BIA and the public schools at present parallels the curriculum provided others in the public schools of America. This is due to the influence of accrediting agencies, state guidelines, availability of texts, the influence of teacher education institutions, and to the prevailing educational trends of the day.

Often, nowever, this curriculum appears to reject, attempts to eliminate, or simply ignores the Indian heritage of the child. A successful education need not be incompatible with the retention of Indian identity, pride, and self-respect. There are special needs among Indian youth populations that the ordinary school curriculum is insufficient to meet. Recognition of these needs and programs to meet them are essential.

Language Instruction. One of the areas requiring attention is that of language instruction. The NSAIE has found that Indian pupils accept the need to learn English, regarding skills in English as more important than knowledge of their native language. There are also strong positive attitudes toward the tribal languages and many parents and pupils support learning it. In relation to language and language instruction it is recommended that special language and reading programs be developed and used, appropriate to particular Indian communities. In areas where the native language is generally spoken at home, there should be a bi-lingual program in grades K-3 with teachers who are bi-lingual, or skilled in teaching English to speakers of other languages and with teacher aides who are familiar with the local language. Bi-lingual education programs, i.e., with instruction in both the native language and English, through grades K-12 should also be supported on

an experimental basis in localities where sufficient interest and resources are available for such experiments.

In areas with large concentrations of speakers of an Indian language, in the absence of a bi-lingual program, provision should be made by the school to offer a course in the Indian language, although most of the school's instruction is given in English. This is valuable not only for its general cultural and cognitive aspects, and the recognition it accords the Indian community, but also in providing interested students with the necessary linguistic skills to function more effectively as potential teachers, administrators, in reservation development, etc.

Indian History and Culture. The NSAIE found that there was a widespread desire for the inclusion of Indian history and culture in the school curriculum. Two thirds of 1300 pupils expressed a wish for this in their interviews. While 86 percent of the parents interviewed were generally approving of the school curriculum, there was a widely held belief that the schools generally ignored the Indian heritage and the most common suggestion they made for improvement was to teach something about the tribal history or culture. The sentiment among teachers and school administrators was also heavily supportive of this.

It is therefore recommended that where there is a concentration of Indian children from one area or tribe, units on tribal and regional Indian history be included in the social studies at the middle grades and high school levels. In all Indian schools at the secondary level, where there is a broad mixture of Indian pupils, courses in anthropology and/or Indian history and culture should be offered.

In every Indian school there should also be attention to the contemporary economic, social and political issues of relevance to the Indian

community. Where there is a tribal government, study of its system and operation should be included in civic and social studies as should be relationships with state and federal government structures.

The ignoring of Indian history and culture, or the presentation of distorted versions affects not only Indian pupils but others as well. Non-Indians are handicapped by lack of information or distortions which support negative stereotypes and hinder good relations with Indian populations.

Units on Indian history and culture should be taught in all schools at the intermediate and high school levels. These units should include a study of the contemporary social, economic and political issues affecting relations with the Indian populations of the country. Such units should be taught in all schools, regardless of the presence or absence of Indian students.

Because many well-intentioned teachers are handicapped by their lack of knowledge and the dearth of appropriate materials, it is necessary for there to be strong support for research and writing and the preparation of curriculum materials in this area. The best Indian scholarship should be supported in an effort to upgrade materials for use in the humanities, social studies, and arts programs in schools.

Career Development. The NSAIE has observed that there is a broad consensus among parents, students, teachers, and influential persons that the most important function of the school is to prepare the Indian students for employment in the dominant economy. Although schools play a small role in providing employment, they can maximize preparation for careers at all levels--manual worker, technician, business, or professional. Career development programs should include more than the actual instruction in skills of a

job. They should give students a chance to explore different types of work, to see the various possibilities in the local area and the neighboring cities, and to become aware of their own personal abilities and interests as these are related to choice of occupation.

It is recommended that the core academic subjects--English, mathematics, science, and social studies in the elementary grades include attention to these factors.

At present, a serious problem in Indian education is the high dropout rate after the 8th grade. This is declining in some areas, but where the dropout rate continues high, it is recommended that special attention be given to career development programs. The Vocational Education Act, as amended in 1968, provides funds for work-study programs for students over the age of 16. In addition, the Department of Labor, through its Manpower Training Program, finances innovative programs. Public institutions, including schools, may employ students under these programs. Students can be employed as tutors, secretarial aides, food and cafeteria workers; and for child care, school-home liaison, and building maintenance. For some pupils these are temporary positions to provide money and meaningful roles while attending schools; for others these may become long-term careers. Financial support for such programs should be extended.

The Context of Education. Curriculum in the broader sense includes more than the content of course offerings. It may be thought of as including all the services provided children as well as the total social atmosphere of the school. Because of the many factors which influence the learning environment, it is recommended that:

1. The decor of the school building attended by Indian children should include attention to the values of Indian life and arts.

2. Special counseling should be provided Indian pupils with particular attention to their needs for vocational and educational information, scholarship and financial help, and assistance with problems encountered in school. States with substantial numbers of Indian children attending the public school systems should establish an office which will be responsible for collecting and distributing information to counselors with regard to educational, vocational, scholarship and other financial assistance available to Indians.

3. The school should provide advisory services to Indian families to increase communication and understanding between them and the school.

4. In boarding schools, speakers of the native language(s) used by the children should be included in the teaching staff and in the dormitory programs.

5. All schools should be flexible in adapting their programs to the particular needs of the communities they serve.

Teachers and Administrators

There must be about 20,000 elementary and secondary school teachers who work with more than a few Indian pupils each day. Probably 5,000 of them are in classes with a preponderance of Indian boys and girls. The others teach classes where the proportion of Indian pupils ranges from 5 to 50 percent. The first group, which we may call group A, are located in BIA schools (1,800) and in mission and public schools located on or near reservations. The others (group B) are in public schools located in towns and cities near reservations, and also in the large cities to which Indian families are migrating increasingly.

Special attention should be given to recruiting, selecting and training the teachers and administrators of group A. This is a responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the State Departments of Public Instruction which serve large numbers of Indian pupils through the public schools. There should be a planned program for the recruitment of persons, Indian and non-Indian, who have appropriate personalities and skills for working effectively in Indian schools and communities.

Among the attributes necessary for successful teaching are respect for community, respect for the children and their parents, regard for the positive role of the child's heritage, and willingness to be accountable for one's performance.

In 1968 there were 260 Indian teachers among the 1772 teachers in BIA schools. It is estimated that there may be as many as 2,000 persons of Indian extraction teaching in American public schools. Since the numbers of Indian college students are increasing rapidly, it should be possible to place another thousand Indians as teachers during the next decade, in addition to replacements for those who retire.

Special arrangements should be made to encourage young public school teachers who are doing well with Indian pupils to continue their careers in such schools. At present it is often difficult for young teachers to stay in such schools because the schools are in rural areas, with relatively low salaries, and they cannot increase the salaries they pay rapidly enough to hold the best young people. Often a young teacher is practically required to move to a larger district in order to get a salary increase after his first two or three years.

Probably the State Department of Public Instruction could set up a fund, with federal government support, to pay young teachers either a bonus or a summer salary for participation in a program of in-service training. Perhaps the State Department could create a special salary scale for schools with 50 percent or more Indian enrollment, supported with Johnson-O'Malley funds. The purpose of this fund would be to encourage able young teachers to seek promotion and salary increases within a group of Indian-serving schools, but not to pay them more than they could obtain

by transferring to larger school districts.

Salary scales in BIA schools are better, in these respects, and the BIA teacher should be paid for 11 months of work, including a summer period for preparation and professional study.

In several states, it might be possible for the State Department of Public Instruction to work out an arrangement with one or more of the State Colleges or Universities to recruit teachers for schools with large Indian enrollments, to provide in-service training for them, and possibly to give them some advisory service during the school year, unless the State Department is staffed for that function.

Teacher education should include, in addition to traditional academic skills, education in cultural awareness, and techniques for learning the specific conditions of the community in which one will be working. Although opportunity for educational experience and training away from the community should continue to be provided and encouraged, greater attention should be given to providing continuing in-service education and educational support to teachers while they are at work in the local community.

Systematic programs should be developed for recruiting, selecting, and training paraprofessionals drawn from the community to be employed in the schools. They are valuable as cross-cultural interpreters of behavior to teachers, children, and parents; they represent a way of incorporating Indian adults directly into the educational enterprise; and they provide a means by which Indian adults can become better informed concerning the contemporary education milieu. Procedures to enable paraprofessionals to move into the professional ranks should be established and supported. Education for work with Indian children should be provided all those whose work in schools affects the child: dormitory attendants, paraprofessionals, bus drivers, etc.

For teachers in group B, with small numbers of Indian pupils, there might be created a role of Indian Education Specialist in school systems with 200 or more Indian pupils. Such a person might offer an in-service training program for classroom teachers who have Indian pupils, and might work out cooperative programs between the school system and local Indian centers or other Indian organizations.

The school principal, or the administrator, must take major responsibility for seeking out new teachers and helping to get in-service training for them and for other staff members. As a key person in the school system, this person needs to be selected carefully, and supported fully by whatever help the State Department can provide.

Boarding Schools*

From the beginning of government-administered education for Indian youth, the boarding school has been a major instrument, often praised and often blamed. Commencing with the founding of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1878 and continuing on to today, when the federal government maintains 77 boarding schools, this form of education has been regarded with mixed feelings by Indian parents and leaders. They felt that this kind of institution was necessary as a means of educating their geographically isolated children whose language was not English. On the other hand, they felt that the boarding school was alienating their youth from the Indian culture.

Indian boys and girls now go to federal boarding schools for one of two reasons. First, some live in such isolated areas that they are not within reach even of a bus route that could carry them to school. Many of these children are Navajo Indians. A considerable number are Alaskan natives, where many Eskimos, Aleuts and Athabascan and Tlingit Indians live in very small villages that cannot support secondary schools. Thus some of the boarding schools must cope with the loneliness and longing for parents of several thousand children below the age of ten. A second reason for attending a federal boarding school is that of maladjustment of the student to local schools, or lack of a healthy family or home base.

At present there are about 12,000 students in 19 off-reservation boarding schools, and 22,000 pupils in 58 on-reservation boarding schools, most of these on the Navajo reservation, including 8,000 pupils under the age of ten. These figures total about 15 percent of Indian children and youth aged 5-17, inclusive. The boarding school enrollment at the high school level actually doubled between 1959 and 1967, and the absolute number of boarding school students is not likely to decrease in the visible future, though the proportion of Indian youth who are in boarding schools will probably decrease.

When psychiatrists and other mental health experts have looked at the boarding schools recently, many of them have criticized these schools severely, especially those for children in elementary school grades. One psychiatrist said: "In my opinion there should be no Indian boarding schools for children in the elementary grades. I say this without qualification. These schools do more harm than good."

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* For a more detailed and documented report on boarding schools, see the Final Report. Series IV. No. 2. Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, distributed by ERIC.

On the other hand, another psychiatrist with considerable experience in working with Indian children sees advantages as well as disadvantages in the boarding schools for younger pupils. He notes that a Public Health Service study has found that Navajo children arrive at boarding school in September with mild nutritional anemia, which disappears after a few months of boarding school food. He recommends that the number of dormitory aides be increased substantially and that they be trained better to act as parent-substitutes.

One recommendation made by critics of boarding schools on the Navajo reservation is that more roads be built, to extend school bus routes so that most children living within 25 miles of a school can be bussed back and forth daily. But Allen Yazzie, Chairman of the Navajo Education Committee, stated in 1968, "Recent surveys have shown that it would take one mile of road to pick up four or five students." Furthermore, Navajo families move their residences frequently in search of better grazing land for their sheep, and might thus make new roads useless.

Our recommendation is that boarding schools for young children of elementary school age be replaced, as <u>far as possible</u>, by day schools which serve nutritious noon meals. There is some evidence that with minor extensions of existing roads and encouragement to put the children in day schools, perhaps half of the present elementary boarding school enrollment on the Navajo reservation could be transferred to day schools.

At the same time, the existing corps of dormitory attendants should be increased by a factor of at least two, so as to keep dormitory aides on duty all day and much of the night, with a ratio of about one aide to 15 children.

For the secondary level boarding schools it appears that the greatest need is for trained counsellors who have time for personal counselling. With the present shortage of counsellors, many who hold this title are forced to act primarily as dormitory supervisors and disciplinarians.

College and Post High School Education

There has been a rapid increase in the numbers of Indian college students during the decade from 1960 to 1970. Approximately 8,000 Indian students are now in college. This constitutes about 12 percent of the college-age group. At present, about 55 percent of an age group finish high school, 20 percent enter college, 10 percent enter another post high school institution, and 5 percent graduate from college with a four-year degree. These are relatively high proportions, compared with other American social groups with low family incomes.

The proportion of Indian youth who go to college has probably multiplied five-fold between 1960 and 1970. Indian boys are attracting national attention for their athletic prowess. Sonny Sixkiller, the great sophomore quarterback of the University of Washington football team in 1970, is a Cherokee who lives in Oregon. The University of Arkansas has an outstanding fullback in Garber, a Quapaw Indian.

A major reason for the relatively large numbers of Indian college students is the availability of scholarship money. Many Indian Tribes maintain scholarship funds from their tribal monies. The Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1969 awarded grants from federal funds for post high school study to 3,500 young people, the average grant being approximately $800.

The rapid increase of Indian college students is partly due to the recruiting efforts of a number of organizations. The United Scholarship Service, Inc., located in Denver, illustrates this effort. The 1969 Annual Report says, "Our staff in Denver and in the field act as the students' advocate in a number of ways: in gaining admission to college, in securing financial aid from the colleges and other sources of aid for which they qualify, in sustaining the student through his educational program after he is in school, and in working with schools and other institutions to ensure proper attention to individual and group educational needs."

This statement of advocacy sums up the recommendations we wish to make, and it sums up the major needs of Indian young people who are about to enter college. The colleges of the country are responding with considerable enthusiasm and creativity to these needs. Perhaps the most promising, at this moment, is the Indian Studies program which has been developed at several universities and seems to be spreading. This consists essentially of a core set of courses on Indian culture, history, and adaptations to the surrounding society, which can be taken either as a complete first year college program, or as a field of

instruction for college graduation. The argument for the first-year program focused on Indian studies is that it gives the Indian student a chance to adjust to the demands of college study while he is working on courses which deal with subjects that concern him, personally, and while he associates in classes with other Indian students and with teachers who are likely to understand his academic strengths and weaknesses. After a successful first year, he has a good chance of coping with the regular college requirements effectively.

The Indian students come to college from a variety of family, tribal, and community experiences. Some have parents who have at least a high school education, and are prepared by experience to push their children up the ladder of social mobility. Others have parents who follow the traditional life styles. For instance, a boy may be learning the calculus in a mathematics course, which is a struggle in itself, while he is fighting a tribal tradition which says he has no right to surpass the achievements of his father.

A partial list of universities with special Indian Studies programs are: University of California at Los Angeles, San Francisco State College, Sacramento State College, University of Washington, University of Minnesota. The universities and colleges of the Southwest and the Plains states have traditionally had large Indian enrollments, and many of them are experimenting along the lines indicated above. It is especially important that there be a competent counsellor who has experience with Indian students to act as advocate for them with the college administration and faculty.

While the public eye is likely to be focussed on Indian students in four-year colleges, it is important to keep in view the very important part that post high school vocational training plays in the preparation of young Indian men and women for employment. The BIA Employment Assistance Program is providing the living costs of a number of young people as they take vocational-technical training for jobs as: stenographer, auto repairman, electronic technician, welder, computer programmer, etc. For this kind of training, the Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, continues to be an effective agent.

Indians in Urban School Systems

Indians have migrated to the cities in relatively large numbers during the 1960s. Their reasons for migration have been similar to the reasons of other low-income families for crowding into the cities since 1950. They wanted employment and better living conditions.

In 1970 there are approximately 280,000 Indians living in urban places, or 38 percent of all Indians. Since a very large percent of this group are young men and women, who are only just beginning to have children, the school-age population of Indian children is relatively small--perhaps about 16,000. In another ten years the present group of young adults will have many children, and the number of school-age children may reach 75,000.

These children and their families will have problems of adjustment to city life that justify a special program, during this decade, of assistance to the school adjustment of Indian children and youth.

At present the Indian adolescents appear to have special difficulty adapting to urban conditions. They drop out of school in large numbers after reaching the 8th grade. Many of them become chronically truant at ages 14 and 15, and then are officially dropped from the school rolls when they reach 16.

During this coming ten years we recommend that the federal and state governments devote monies to a special program in all cities with 100 or more Indian children and youth of school age.

This program should deal with two groups. One is the group from 12 to 18 years of age. For these there should be special educational programs, as far as possible staffed by Indian teachers and community aides, which provide the equivalent of a high school course, including special courses in Indian arts and crafts, Indian history and culture, and work experience which leads to employment and income. This program could be concentrated in one or two junior and senior high schools, and could be chosen by Indian students as an alternative to the regular program in their neighborhood school. This kind of program could also be located in Indian Centers, through rental of space by the School Board, and assignment of staff to work at these Centers.

The other target group should be kindergarten and primary grade children and their mothers. Community aides could visit the mothers and encourage them to come to school and to mothers' club meetings. A special teacher could be employed in every school with as many as 40 pupils in these grades, to assist the regular classroom teachers in their work with Indian pupils and their mothers.

With a fund available through the State Department of Education for these and other programs, a variety of innovations could be tried out, stimulated by a Supervisor from the State Department or from the Central School Administration when numbers of students are great enough to support this kind of staff work.

A program of this sort could be financed through federal appropriations under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. Congress might appropriate funds sufficient to pay $100 per Indian pupil per year to school districts with 100 or more Indian pupils. With the estimated numbers given above, this would mean an appropriation of $1,500,000 for the first year, increasing to $7,000,000 at the close of the decade, plus administrative expenses of approximately ten percent.

The decade of the 70s will be crucial for the school adjustment of Indian pupils in urban schools, since their numbers will be increasing rapidly and their problems will be new to their parents and to the schools. It seems reasonable to suppose that a ten-year effort of the sort recommended would lead to a set of educational practices which could be absorbed by the school system into its regular budget by 1980.

Finance

Most of the cost of education for Indian children and youth has been paid by the federal government, since the Indian people traditionally have lived on reservations and have not paid property taxes. When public schools took over much of the responsibility of education for Indians, after 1950, the states and local school districts which maintained schools for children of Indian families who were living on tax-exempt land were repaid with federal government funds under Public Laws 815 and 874, for the same reason that the government makes payments in lieu of taxes for education of children of families living on government military and other reservations. This practice will, of course, continue as long as Indian families live on tax-exempt land. These funds should provide approximately the same level of support as is provided by state and local school district funds for non-Indian pupils.

In addition, funds from the federal government under the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 are available for assistance to Indians who are not on reservations. A congressional report stated that the intent of the Act is to "arrange for the handling of certain Indian problems with those States in which the Indian tribal life is largely broken up and in which the Indians are to a considerable extent mixed with the general population." An amendment to the Act in 1936 authorized the BIA to contract for projects with State universities, colleges, schools, and appropriate State or private corporations, agencies, and institutions.

To help meet emergent educational needs of Indian people it is recommended that appropriations under the Johnson-O'Malley Act be increased substantially, from the present level of approximately $12 million. The number of states receiving Johnson-O'Malley funds should be increased beyond the fifteen which in 1969 received more than $20,000 apiece. The following states, in particular, should get funds from this source if they produce useful plans: California, Illinois, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oregon, and Utah. For instance, the funds recommended for assistance to city school systems with growing numbers of Indian pupils could be provided under this law.

At the same time, the administration of funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act should be improved in two ways. First, there should be more participation by Indians in drawing up the plans that are to be supported. This should take place in the state capitals and the cities where the plans originate, as well as in tribal councils. Second, there should be thorough reports on the actual uses to which Johnson-O'Malley funds are put, and careful evaluation of the results.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH*

Social scientists have been officially asked to study the education of American Indians several times during the past 45 years. The first major study, made under the direction of Mr. Lewis Meriam at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, was commenced in 1926 and the report was published in 1928. Since that time a number of studies of Indian children and youth have been made by anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists. Most of them have been done on the private initiative of individual scholars or university departments, but some have been made by researchers on the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and some have been commissioned and paid for by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the United States Office of Education.

When the 1926-28 study was made, the Census indicated that there were 325,000 Indians in the country, plus some 25,000 Eskimos in Alaska. The officially estimated birthrate in 1925 for Indians was 31.5 per 1,000 population, against a death rate of 25.6, thus supporting a natural increase at the rate of 0.6 percent per year. There were approximately 69,000 Indian children and youth in school, and a large and unknown number not in school.

By 1967 the birth rate for Indians had gone up to 37.4 per 1,000, and the death rate had gone down to approximately 13 per 1,000. Thus the rate of natural increase was more than 2 percent a year, and the Indians were the fastest-growing ethnic group in the country. The Indian population was almost twice what it had been 40 years earlier, and the number of Indian children and youth in school was approximately 150,000.

Meanwhile the administration of the schools attended by Indian students had changed, due to a government policy of reducing the educational responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Approximately 63 percent of Indian students are now in public schools, operated by local district or county school boards. Some 31 percent are in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and about 6 percent are in mission schools.

By the mid-60s, there was a growing interest in the problems of disadvantaged minority groups, and it was natural for attention to be turned again to the state of Indian education. The call for the present study came from the National Research Conference on Indian Education, held at the Pennsylvania State University, May 24-27, 1967. This Conference was organized by the Society for the Study of Social Problems, together with Pennsylvania State University, with Herbert Aurbach of the University as Project Director.

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*For a fuller description of the methods used in the study, see the Final Report, Series IV, No. 1, Design of the Study, distributed by ERIC.

Financial support was given by the U. S. Office of Education through its Research Branch, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education. Staff members Howard Hjelm, Ronald Corwin, and Michael Bohleber assisted in planning the Conference and in getting the subsequent Study organized. Participation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was arranged through Carl Marburger, then Assistant Commissioner for Indian Education and later to become Commissioner for Education of the State of New Jersey.

The National Conference called for a national fact-finding study, and stated the following guidelines for such a study:

1. Provide Indian leadership with systematic and objective information about the attitudes, aspirations and expectations of a cross-section of their peoples regarding education.

2. Provide Indian leadership and the officials of governmental and non-governmental educational agencies which serve Indian children with basic information to assist in planning more effectively for the educational needs of the Indian populace.

3. Provide governmental agencies with information for arriving at a more adequate basis for the allocation of demonstration and research funds for Indian education.

4. Provide base line data so that experimental and demonstration programs can be more adequately and systematically compared over time with each other and with current ongoing programs.

5. Systematically draw together, summarize and evaluate the results of past and current research on Indian education so as to articulate the results of those studies with current and future educational programs and research studies.

6. Not do much testing of school achievement or of intelligence. It was felt that enough information of this sort is already available.

7. Include an adequate cross-section of Indian children in the various kinds of school settings in which they are presently being educated. This should include Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, public schools and mission schools and should include schools located in various settings (e.g., reservations, rural non-reservation locales, and urban areas) and should include institutions of higher education and vocational as well as academic schools. This cross-section should include some representation of the various broad types of cultural patterns found among the over 300 Indian tribal groups located in various geographic regions of the nation. For this purpose it would seem that the major unit of study should be the school as a socio-cultural institution.

8. Probably involve in its field operations a number of research institutions located centrally to areas where sizeable numbers of Indians are located. The over-all planning, direction and coordination, however, should be located in a single research organization.

The major recommendation of the Conference, one that was supported unanimously in a resolution passed by the participants attending the concluding session of the Conference, was that Indian leadership must be involved in all the major decisions leading to the development and implementation of such a study. Indian leadership should have a major voice in selecting the director of the study and auspices under which it is conducted. It was further recommended that the mechanism for involving Indian leadership in this decision-making process should be the National Indian Education Advisory Committee recently established by Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and representing the leaders of 17 major tribal groups. There was also general agreement that Indians should be involved in the study in the following ways:

a. engaging to the fullest extent possible, Indians who are professionally trained researchers in the design and direction of the study;

b. training and utilizing Indians to the fullest extent possible in data collection and analysis;

c. presenting the research results in such a manner as to be of maximum use to Indian leadership in the development of educational policies for Indians and in recommending more effective educational programs to serve Indian peoples.

An Advisory Committee of the National Conference was appointed, with power to select a director in consultation with USOE officers. This Committee consisted of the following:

Wendell Chino, Chairman, National Indian Education Advisory Committee
Vine Deloria, National Congress of American Indians
Flore Lekanof, Alaska Federation of Native Association
Melvin Thom, National Indian Youth Council
James Wilson, Indian Division, United States Government, Office of Economic Opportunity
Herbert Aurbach, Coordinator of the National Conference, Pennsylvania State University
Ozzie Simmons, Professor of Sociology, University of Colorado
Edward Spicer, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona
Sol Tax, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago

Through this Committee and the staff of the U. S. Office of Education, Professor Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago was asked to become Director of the proposed Study and to work out the plan for the Study.

Professor Havighurst then worked during the autumn of 1967 to design the Study. This design was accepted by the U. S. Office of Education with a budget totalling $515,000. From January to September, 1968, the plans for the Study were worked out, so that field work could commence in the autumn of 1968. Mr. Havighurst conferred with Indian leaders, with university professors and researchers who were interested in Indian education, and with officials of the State Departments of Education in states where there were large numbers of Indian students.

Advisory Committee

During this period an Advisory Committee was appointed, to advise Mr. Havighurst and the staff concerning the conduct of the Study and concerning the final report with recommendations.

At a meeting of the Advisory Committee in June, 1968, the broad outlines of the National Study were formulated. To this meeting came Field Center Directors from the University of Colorado, University of Arizona, and San Francisco State College, who had agreed to work on the Study.

The Study was tentatively formulated to consist of two aspects:

1. An Extensive Survey Study, to summarize the present status of the Education of American Indians.

2. An Intensive Field Study, to operate from September, 1968 to the end of 1969, with further data analysis and a final report to be completed in 1970.

The field study would be carried through by working groups located at six universities in addition to the Central Staff at the University of Chicago. The six universities and their Research Directors were chosen during the planning period. They were:

University of Arizona--John H. Chilcott
University of Colorado--Gottfried Lang and Bryan Michener
San Francisco State College--John Connelly
University of Minnesota--Arthur Harkins
North Carolina State University--J. Gregory Peck
Oklahoma State University--Larry Perkins

In addition to the field research it was decided to seek out and support a few self-studies to be made by Indian communities of their educational needs and problems. This self-study process should be evaluated as a method of improving Indian education, and the self-studies would also feed information to the research staff concerning the particular communities which made the studies. It proved more time-consuming

than had been anticipated to arrange for such studies, and only three were actually carried out. They were quite varied, and produced useful information. They are:

A Self-Study Conference on the White Mountain Apache Reservation, at Whiteriver, Arizona, April 11, 1969.

The collection and organization of information on the history and culture of the Quinault Indians of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington, to serve as a basis for a school course on tribal history and culture, Taholah, Washington.

A set of parent conferences on the educational needs and problems of Lumbee Indians in Baltimore, held in the winter-spring of 1970.

Other Sources of Data for the Study. In addition to the data actually produced in the field study, and to the Extensive Survey, there are other important sources of data. One is the Survey of Research on Indian Education made by Professor Brewton Berry of the Ohio State University, and completed in February, 1968. Another is the series of Hearings held by the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education and published in seven volumes, together with a final committee report entitled Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge which was published in November, 1969. There were also several important research studies on Indian Education completed in 1967-69, which became available to the staff of the National Study. These sources have been used in a number of the papers prepared by staff members during the course of the National Study.

Planning the Field Research

The field research was planned at a two-week research conference in Boulder, Colorado in August, 1968. The major decisions made at the time were:

1. To study intensively the educational systems of 25 to 30 communities, selected so as to include the larger tribal groups and the various types of schools attended by Indian children, including schools in cities where Indian and white children are together.

2. The field work would be done by a team consisting of 2 to 5 persons who would spend 10 to 15 person-weeks in each community. They would make arrangements in advance with the leaders of the community and the director of the schools, and do the following:

a. Collect information on a sample of pupils, probably in grades 1, 5, 8 or 9, and 11-12.

b. Interview the sample of pupils to learn about their vocational goals, their feelings about the school, their attitudes toward the local community and the larger society, etc.

c. Observe systematically in the school.

d. Interview parents of the sample of pupils, to learn about their attitudes toward the school, their expectations about the careers of their children, etc.

e. Interview local community leaders concerning their expectations of the school, their view of the future of their community and the ways by which the school does or could serve effectively.

f. Interview teachers to learn their attitudes toward their jobs and their expectations of what Indian children should learn.

The Sample of Communities and School Systems

The sample had to be chosen so as to get a reasonably good geographic spread and to include the most numerous Indian tribes. It was also desirable to include the four major types of schools for Indian youth--public day schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs Day Schools, BIA Boarding Schools, and Mission Schools.

Another consideration was the degree of contact between the Indian community and the surrounding white community; and another was the "strength of the Indian voice" in the administration and policy-making of the school system.

Three Field Centers with the largest field assignments sought to get representative examples of the various kinds of schools--Colorado, Arizona, and San Francisco State.

The schools and communities actually studied are listed in the following table, in categories that refer roughly to degree of contact between Indians and whites in the school and community. They are also shown on Maps 1 and 2.

Grouping of School Systems for Purposes of Analysis

We want to compare groups of schools with the data that we have collected. To do this, we propose to make some hypothetical groupings and to compare them.

The principal basis for these groupings is the degree of exposure of children to the modern industrial society.

The data for these groupings consist of such facts as the following:

Distance from major urban and employment centers.
Educational level of the parents.

Language spoken in the home.
Quantum of Indian ancestry.
Proportion of non-Indian children in the school.

When these criteria are used, we may get the following seven groups of schools.

1. Urban with low proportions of Indian students, up to 25 percent Indian

	Grades	Percent Indian
Baltimore Elementary and Secondary Schools.	K-12	1-5
Chicago Elementary and Secondary Schools.	K-12	1-5
Minneapolis Elementary and Junior High Schools.	K-9	6-22

2. Rural and Small City with low proportions of Indian students, up to 25 percent Indian

Red Wing (Minnesota) Elementary and High Schools.	K-12	1-5
Cut Bank (Montana) Elementary and High Schools.	K-12	7-8
Shawano Senior High School (Wisconsin).	9-12	16
Shawano Junior High School.	6-8	25
Pawnee (Oklahoma) Elementary and High Schools.	1-12	19
Moclips (Washington) Junior and Senior High Schools.	7-12	20
Ponca City High School (Oklahoma).	7-12	5

3. Rural and Small City with proportions of Indian Students between 30 - 70 percent Indian

Hoopa Elementary School (California).	K-6	57
Hoopa High School.	7-12	33
Neah Bay (Washington) Elementary and Secondary Schools.	1-12	66

4. Rural and Small City with proportions of Indian Students, 70-100 percent Indian

Cheyenne-Eagle Butte (South Dakota).	K-12	80
Browning (Montana) Elementary and Secondary Schools.	K-12	83-88
Keshena (Wisconsin) Elementary.	1-5	95
Todd County (South Dakota) Elementary and Secondary Schools.	1-5	95
St. Joseph (Wisconsin) Elementary.	1-8	100
Neopit (Wisconsin) Elementary	1-5	100
Magnolia (North Carolina) Elementary and Secondary Schools.	K-12	100
Pembroke (North Carolina) Elementary and Secondary Schools.	1-12	95
Ponca City (Oklahoma) White Eagle Elementary.	1-6	100

	Grades	Percent Indian
5. Relatively Modern but essentially Indian communities		
Taholah (Washington) Elementary School.	K-6	100
Laguna-Acoma (New Mexico) Junior and Senior High Schools.	7-12	80
Tuba City (Arizona) High School.	9-12	95
Angoon Elementary (Alaska).	1-8	100
Fort Thomas (Arizona) Elementary and Secondary Schools.	1-12	100
Pima Central and Blackwater Elementary (Arizona).	1-8	100
Indian Oasis (Arizona) Elementary and High Schools.	1-11	100
6. Isolated and relatively non-acculturated Indian communities		
Cibecue (Arizona) Elementary School.	1-8	100
Topawa (Arizona) Elementary School.	1-8	95
Hopi Second Mesa (Arizona) Elementary School.	K-6	100
Bethel (Alaska) Elementary and High Schools.	K-12	90
7. Boarding Schools (High to Low Acculturation)		
St. Francis (South Dakota) Mission.	K-12	100
Phoenix (Arizona) Indian School.	7-12	100
Flagstaff Dormitory (Arizona).	3-12	100
Chemawa (Oregon) Boarding School.	9-12	100
Theodore Roosevelt (Arizona).	3-8	100
Shonto (Arizona).	3-8	100

Adequacy of the Sample

The questions of the degree of representativeness of the sample of communities and of the samples of students, parents, teachers, and influential persons must be asked and answered clearly. It is well known that most studies of American Indians have been made with very little attention to the technical problems of sampling. In some cases all the children or adults in certain categories in a community have been studied, thus avoiding the need to draw a representative sample. But there remains the question whether the one or few communities so studied were representative of Indian communities generally.

A research paper is being written on the matter of the sampling in the National Study. It is clear that the Study does not deal with a representative sample of Indian communities, although it deals with a range of types of communities, which affords some basis for generalization.

Within the chosen communities, a serious effort was made to get representative samples of the persons who were studied, with some success, but not complete success, as will be shown in this paper.

It can be claimed that this Study is based on the most adequate sample of Indian people that has ever been studied with some intensity; except for certain studies that were limited to educational achievement.

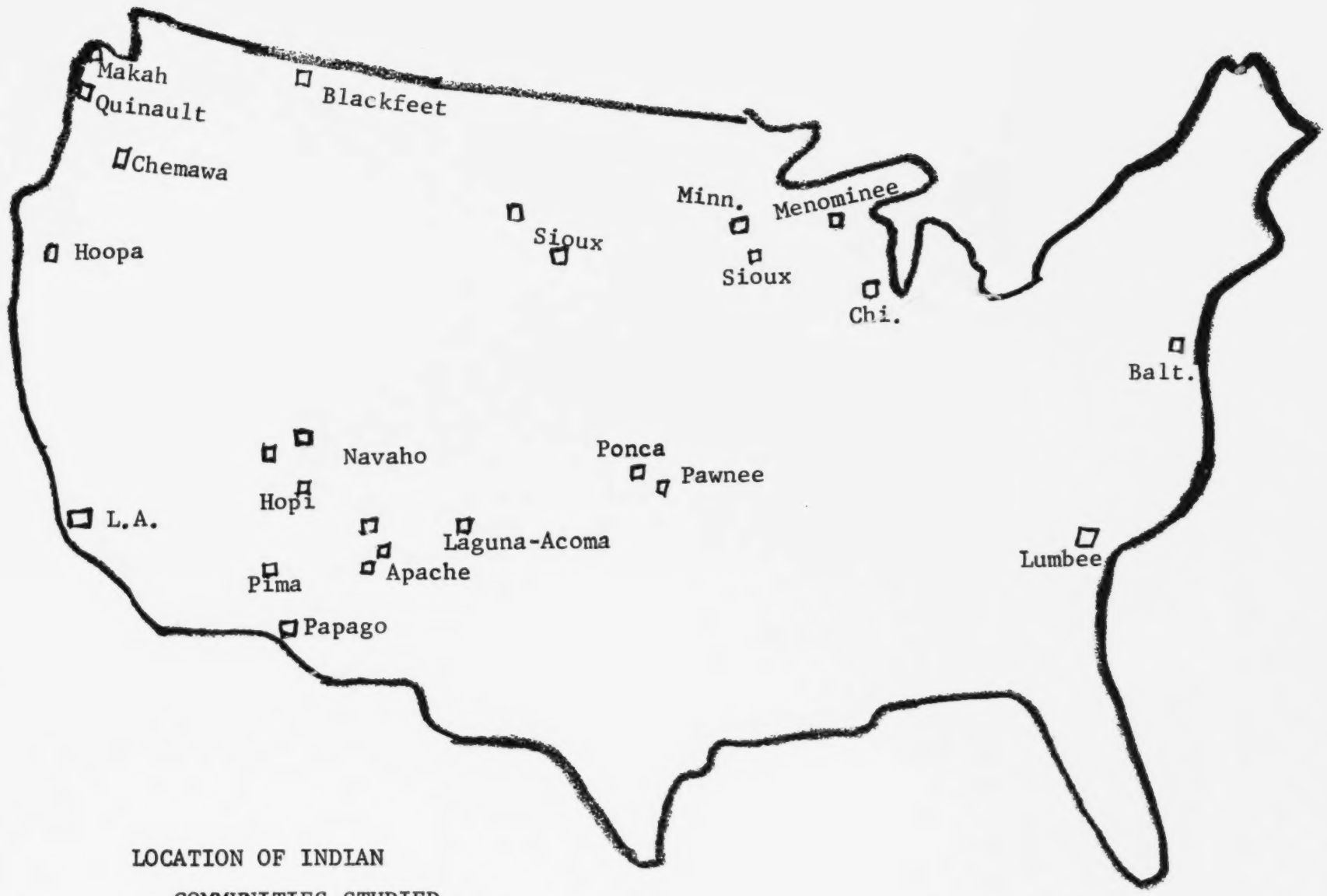
Personnel Engaged in the Research--The Indian Representation

The strong recommendation of the National Research Conference in 1967 called for a maximum participation of Indians in the conduct of the Study. This view was shared by the Director and all of the Field Center Directors, and they exerted themselves to secure Indian staff workers. The largest number of Indians were employed as interviewers and interpreters in the various communities. One of the Field Directors was an Apache Indian. Five of the research assistants were Indians--all graduate students in anthropology or education.

Summary of Personnel

Role	Number	Number of Indians
Center Director	7	0
Field Director	8	1
Research Assistant	28	5
Field Research Assistant	100	90
Research Analyst	22	0
Secretarial Staff	19	3
Total	184	99

To this writer's knowledge, no previous study of this size and scope has had as large a proportion of Indian researchers. However, it seems probable that future studies will be conducted more completely by Indians, since the number of scientifically trained Indians is now increasing rapidly.



LOCATION OF INDIAN
COMMUNITIES STUDIED
IN NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

BETHEL and ANGOON, ALASKA

Map 1

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PAPERS CONSTITUTING THE FINAL REPORT

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